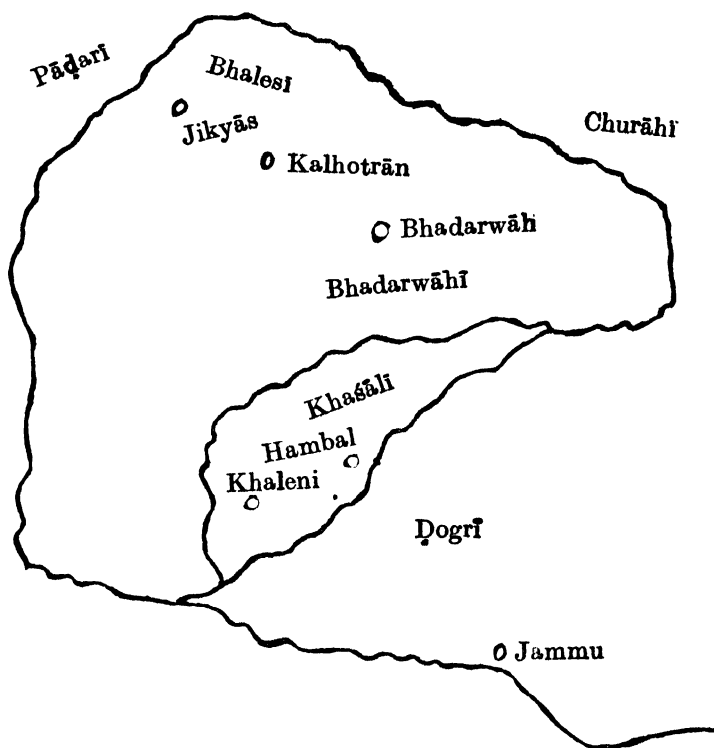


Indian dialects in phonetic transcription.

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II. BHADARWĀHĪ, BHĀLEŚĪ AND KHAŚĀLĪ.

Bhadarwāhī, Bhāleśī and Khaśāli, spoken in the territories of Jammu and Kashmir, are neighbouring dialects. The following rough map will illustrate their relative position :—



STORY OF THE NORTH WIND AND THE SUN.

(1) *Bhadarwāhī*.

ut'treṇero (or 'uttrero) bat te dī'ha'ro
northern wind and sun

bat te dī'ha'ro is 'gallipū 'laṇe 'lagore thie ki asen duien maz
wind and sun this thing-on disputing were that of-us two among
kaup zore-balo æ 'etremaz u'ṇa'lu kōt 'leitā akk bōṭṭu u'lhorā
who powerful is meanwhile warm coat wearing a traveller thither
au. ɛn 'duieɪ ɛ gall 'rakhi ki zɛ 'Agri bōṭṭeru kōt
came by-them this thing was-fixed that who first traveller's coat

khôlêlo, te 'zore'balo bholo. tēspuṛ bat 'zore-seī 'bhōṇe 'lago,
will-remove he powerful will-be this-on wind force-with to-blow began
tā te bəṭṭṛu 'appṇu kəṭ 'zore-seī appṇi jani-seī 'bheṛne
then that traveller his coat force-with his body-with to-wrap
'lago. bat 'phiri 'heṭi jau. 'phiri dī'hā'ro 'tezi-seī 'niṣso, 'phiri
began wind then drew-back then sun force-with came-out then
'ṭeni bəṭṭṛe 'appṇu kəṭ 'lyji khôli 'ṣhaddu. ə'lhere-lei 'bāte
by-that traveller his coat quickly was cast-off this-owing-to wind
'manṇu pēṭ ki ṣṣən duiṇ-maz dī'hā'ro jade 'zore-balo ṁe.
to-admit had-to that us two among sun more powerful is

(2) *Bhalesī*.

'uttrēu bat te dī'hā'ro
northern wind and sun

'uttrēu bat te dī'hā'ro 'iṣi 'galle-puṛ larte thie, ki ṣṣən
northern wind and sun this thing-on quarrelling were that us
duiṇmaz 'kaṇu 'zore-balo ṁe. 'etrumaz niṅgu kəṭ lei ṁk
two-among who powerful is meanwhile warm coat wearing a
mu'ja'ṭir u'dho'ria au. 'mē duiṇ maz i gall kheṛi ki
traveller from-thither came them two-between this thing was-fixed that
'zekh^u aṅri mu'ja'ṭereu kəṭ u'kholel^u 'te'he zore-balu 'bhol^u.
whoever first traveller's coat will-remove he-alone powerful will be
tēspuṛ bat zore-seī 'bhōṇe lago, pā 'ziū—ziū bat zore-seī
this-on wind force-with to blow began but as—as wind force-with
'bhōṇe lago, 'tātā te mu'ja'ṭir 'appṇu kəṭ zore-seī 'appṇi
blow-to began so-so that traveller his coat force-with his
jani-puṛ 'ṣekkṇe lago 'phiri bat 'mukkigēu. 'phiri dī'hā'ro tezi-seī
body-on press-to began then wind finished was then sun force-with
niṣso, 'phiri 'ṭeni mu'japhre 'appṇu kəṭ u'kholi ṣhāru. ṛi'e-lei
came-out then by-that traveller his coat put-off was this-owing-to
'bate 'manṇu pēṭ ki ṣṣən du hi'ne maz dī'hā'ro: jade
by-the-wind to-admit was that of-us both between sun-only more
zore-balo ṁe.
powerful is

(3) *Khaśūli*.

'uttrara bat te dī'hā'ra
north-of wind and sun

bat te dī'hā'ra ēa 'galla-tir 'laṛne lagure thie ki ā duiṭ
wind and sun this thing-on to-dispute beginning were that us both
mā kaṇṇṛa 'zora wala ṁe. 'etremā u'ṇa'la koṭ 'lāida ṁk
between who powerful is meanwhile warm coat wearing a
'battmergu utōṇā a. ēnā duiṭ-mā i jart ṭhēri
traveller on-that-side came these-two-between this condition was-fixed
ki ze 'aṅri batt'merguara koṭ khôlla, te te 'zorawala 'bhola
that who first traveller's coat will-remove then he powerful will-be

tê-tir bat zora-seī calne laga; par zā-zā bat zora-seī 'calne
 this-on wind force-with to-blow began but as-as wind force-with blow-to
 laga, tātā tē batt'mergu ṁṇa koṭ 'apni jmda-seī bherne laga.
 began, so-so that traveller his coat his body-with to-press began
 bat phiri 'haṭi gea. 'phiri dī'haṛa 'teza-seī nissa; 'phiri 'ṭeni
 wind then left-off then sun force-with rose then by-that
 batt'merguṣ ṁṇa koṭ taoia 'khôli-sara. 'ēṭṭatta 'bata 'manṇu
 traveller his coat soon was put-off this—on by-wind to-admit
 pēṭ ki ā duiṣ mā dī'haṛa 'z-rawala ese.
 had that us both between sun powerful, as

NOTES

(1) *Phonetics.*

(a) Bhadarwāli [ʌ], as in 'larne 'disputing', gall 'thing' is much more back than the standard Hindustani [ʌ]. It resembles Southern English [ʌ].

(b) Bhalesi [ɪ] at the end of words, as in janɪ-, is a remarkable feature of the dialect, being very lax and resembling the final vowel of the English word 'baby'.

(c) Bhal. [ʊ] at the end of words is another striking feature of this dialect. This [ʊ] is very delicate, sometimes extremely difficult to hear, as in the words bholʊ 'will be' 'ze khʊ 'whoever'. This feature of the dialect resembles the well-known phenomenon of delicate final vowels in Kashmiri.

(d) Bhad. [ɸ], as in betɸru 'traveller' is more lax than the corresponding French sound.

(e) Bhad. [ɣ] as in 'lyfi 'quickly' is more lax than the corresponding French sound.

(f) Bhal. [ɸ], as in mu'jaɸɪr, verges more on the bi-labial fricative, but it has a little occlusion.

(2) *Phonology (in the older, philological sense.)*

(a) Khas [ʊ] in unstressed syllables appears to be a later stage, which the vowel [o] has undergone, a preceding stage appearing in Bhad., wherein the corresponding vowel is [ɔ], being more back. Cf. the following words in the text:—

	<i>Khas.</i>		<i>Bhad.</i>
	'lagure	'(were) beginning'	lagore
Also cf.	'zarmura	'had born'	'zarmoro
	'zitura	'had won'	'zitoro

(b) The initial [ʊ] in Bhal. u'kholḍu 'will remove' goes back to PIA ava- down, as in Hindi utarnā 'to descend'.

(c) The mutation of vowels, as appearing in Bhad. 'heṭṭau 'drew back'—the [ʌ] of 'haṭnu 'to draw back' being changed to ɛ in 'heṭi, under

the influence of the final [i]—is a very prominent feature of both Bhad. and Bhal. cf. in the texts above :—

<i>Khaś.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Bhal.</i>
'lāida	leitā	lei 'having put on'.

Here the [a] of the verb ['la'nu] 'to put on' remains unchanged in Khaś. 'lāida, but is changed to [e] in Bhad. and Bhal. Also cf. the following :—

<i>Khaś.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>
'bhoitā	'bhōitā 'having become'.
'dhoitā	'dhōitā 'having washed'.
'puzzitā	'pyztā 'having reached'.

Nevertheless, even in Khaś. there are some tendencies for this vocalic mutation cf.

Khaś	māli 'mother' pl. mēli
	'maḥli 'fish' pl. 'meḥli

(d) Khaśāli syncopation by elision of the vowel between two l's may be noticed in the following Khaś. as against the Bhad. words in the texts :—

<i>Khaś.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>
khōlla	khōlēlo 'will remove'.
cf. 'calla	'ēlēlo 'went'.

Cf. Konkāṇi (Marāṭhi) gello 'went' but Ratnagiri (Marāṭhi) gēlēlō 'went'. L.S.I. Vol. VII, p. 408.

(e) The elision of suffical [r] is characteristic of Bhalesi, as appearing in Bhal. 'uttreu 'northern' as against Bhad. 'uttrero cf.

<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
ki'o	ki'c're	gr'u're 'they have or had been done'.
'ghorēu	'ghorero	'ghorera 'of the horse'.

(f) In Khaś. the intervocalic [s] of pronouns is changed into the high-falling tone. Cf.

<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
is	'isi	êa 'this' (oblique).
as	as	â 'we'.

Cf. my 'Dialects of the Khaśāli group' (1939), p. 4.

(g) Bhad. and Bhal. have intervocalic [b] as against [w] of Khaś. in

<i>Khaś.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Bhal.</i>
'zorewala	'zorebalo	'zorebalo 'powerful'.

(h) Khaś. has [s] for ḥh of Bhad. and Bhal. in :—

<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
'ḥhaḍḍu	'ḥhaṛu	'saṛa 'gave up', auxiliary in the sense of 'off'.

(i) Corresponding to Bhad. u'lhorū 'from that side', Bhal. has u'dho'ria, cf. Hindustani udharko 'to that side'. If [lh] in the Bhad.

word phonologically corresponds to [dh] in the Bhal. correspondent, it is an interesting change, but it awaits confirmation by more examples.

(3) Grammar.

(a) The gender of bat 'wind' in all the three dialects is masculine, exactly corresponding to the gender of Sanskrit vātaḥ. On the contrary. Panjābī [va] and Ḍogri [ba] 'wind' are feminine.

The gender of koṭ in Bhad. and Bhal. is neuter, as the adjectives u'ṇa'lu and nṛgu 'warm' show, but in Khaś., indicated by the adjective u'ṇa'la, it is masculine. In all the three dialects we have naturally a double neuter gender in 'manṇu peṭh' 'had to admit', corresponding to Hindi mānna paṛā, because the (impersonal) infinitive in these dialects is formed with the neuter termination [u].

(b) Though Khaś. is essentially a Pahārī dialect, as are Bhad. and Bhal., yet Khaś. nouns corresponding to PIA nouns in -aka end in [-a], while Bhad. and Bhal. nouns of this type end in [-o], cf. Khaś. d'r'hara 'the sun', but Bhad., Bhal. d'r'hara. As a cursory glance through the above map will show, Khaś. is geographically nearer to Ḍogri than are Bhad. and Bhal., and so the influence of Ḍogri on the Khaśāli nouns of this type may be suspected.

(c) The first [a] of Khaś. 'uttrara 'of the north' is characteristic of the dialect, as distinct from [e] of Bhad. 'uttrero 'of the north'. For as has been pointed out in my treatise 'Dialects of the Khaśāli group' (p. 9), in Khaś. the oblique of all non-feminine nouns ending in consonants has the ending -a before the final suffix -ra. This [-a] also occurs in Khaś. 'gallatir 'on this thing', for some feminine words of this type like gall, zib, also form their oblique with the ending [-a]. Also cf. Khaś. 'zora-sei 'with force' but Bhad. Bhal. 'zore-sei.

(d) The locative ending in both Bhal. and Bhad. is -puṛ, as in Bhad. 'galli-puṛ, Bhal. 'galle-puṛ 'on (this) thing', possibly corresponding to PIA pṛsthā-, cf. Kashmirī pjath 'on', but the Khaś. ending -tir as in 'gallatir 'on (this) thing' possibly goes back to PIA talā-.

(4) Vocabulary.

The following words in the above texts may be of special interest :—

Bhad. 'uttreinero 'northern' reminds one of PIA uttarāyaṇa-, but the occurrence of [n] instead of [ṇ] stands in the way of accepting any such correspondence.

For Bhad. bəṭṭru 'a traveller', cf. Panj. vāḍī 'a traveller', so that in the Bhad. word we have possibly a conglomerate of the word batt 'a path' + vah + the suffix [-ḍ].

In Khaś. 'battmergu 'traveller' lit. 'path-seeker', the second element seems to be a semi-tatsama word, corresponding to PIA √mārg- 'to seek'. In Bhal. 'zekh' 'whoever', fem. zekh', we have the indefinite suffix kh',

kh', cf. Hindi jokoi 'whoever', which however, has no phonological correspondence with it.

In Bhal. 'mukkigeu 'withdrew' lit. 'was finished', we have an unusual idiomatic use of 'mukṇu 'to be finished'.

In Khas. jmd 'body', Bhal. Bhad. jan, we have the words for the human body. These words are sometimes used, secondarily in this sense in Panj. as well, though here 'pṛṇḍa is the more current word for the 'body', the former words being used more in the sense of 'life' or 'physical condition'.

The sense of Bhad. u'ṇa'lu 'warm' used for cloth would sound curious to a Lahnda speaker, to whom hu'ṇa'la, the corresponding form, means only the Summer Season.
